1: Burrows--195-196 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 178 Ifalik 1-2

"For Aluluei, god of navigation, Sarfert found two emblems: a wooden anthropomorphic figure, and a conch-shell horn. Tom's mention of such wooden figures, and his statement that none exist on Ifalik any more, has been noted in the account of navigation. As senior navigator of the island, Tom owned a conch horn; and blew it while singing his incantation to ward off storms. But he did not mention its use in connection with invocations of gods of navigation, though he gave me the texts of a series of prayers of invocations to them.

Curiously, the only other emblems of this kind we saw in use were connected with a deity who, according to Sarfert, had no special ceremony of invocation - Paluelap. The emblems or insignia were of two kinds: strips of white young coconut leaf, which were waved over the hull of a canoe about to set out for another island, then tied around the end-posts; and a mature coconut in its husk, with a strip of leaflet knotted about it. This was knocked along the seams of the hull as the navigator waded about the canoe, singing his prayer or incantation.

Some of the difference between Sarfert's information and mine is obviously due to the fact that neither of us got the whole story. Part of it, though, probably reflects change in the culture during the thirty-eight years between the two visits. Knowledge of this part of the religious lore was confined to a few even in Sarfert's time (and probably always had been). The invocations to Lauliăr, he was told, were known only to two men. Details reported to him in 1909 may well have gone out of use by 1947. This seems

particularly likely in the case of visible emblems of which we saw nothing. It was explicitly stated by Tom of the wooden images formerly used by navigators.

On the other hand, the whole cult of TIlItr may have arisen since Sarfert's visit. This god is not mentioned at all in the German monograph, nor in any of the myths we collected. The only texts that refer specifically to him are the hymn of invocation and a healing prayer or incantation that Gargeligar gave to Spiro. Both are said to have been revealed by the god to Gargeligar, who was not an old man in 1947; and of part of the invocation (but not all that includes mention of TIlItr) it is specifically stated that this was the first revelation. [196]

More substantial than this admittedly conjectural interpretation of differences between the two accounts is the fact that, so far as general patterns of behavior are concerned, they corroborate each other."

2; Damm et al. --12 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 164, 178 Ifaluk

You seldom find ringworm. However, Sarfert saw a good many large scars, decayed legs, etc. In contrast to the other Carolines (for example Polowat, Satowal) syphilis occurs here. According to the natives, the life span was formerly very long, but people now die in middle life. The health conditions alone can not be responsible for this situation; it is much more likely that the cultural decline plays just as important a part in the premature decease of the inhabitants.

2: Damm et al. --172 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 484, 437, 178 Faraulep

In olden days the natives of Faraulep visited the following islands to do business: Unaaŋi, (Oleai), Auripik, Ifaluk, Soroŋ (Sorol), Uejeŋ (Fais), Magemuŋ (Mogemog), Yap, Nŏlu (Ngulu), Palau, Songosor, Pur, Merir, Lāmutsex (Lamutrik), Setouan (Satowal), Sŏux (Hok), Unŋon, (Onon), Piseras, Tsuk (Truk), Magur, Moiraila (Murillo), Ratak, Magil (Mokil), Ebon, Nutau, Gatsaue (Kusai). They also had a lively commerce with the Marianas (Guam, Saipan). Then other islands were visited long ago, but the present generation can not identify them: Uaxu, Solnas, Bahau, Anelulu (Honolulu??). These long trips have been given up, on account of the death of the old sea captains, and the lack of interest of the young men; and today there are just a few islands in the immediate vicinity with which the natives deal.

28: Spiro--30
116, 604, 593, 178

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifaluk

"An interesting problem arises with respect to the mother's brother. This relationship also seems to indicate the intermediate position of the Ifaluk social organization, without indicating whether or not it is in a transitional stage. That is, we have a matrilineal clan in which the mother's brother and the child belong to the same clan, whereas the father belongs to a different clan from his children. Furthermore, the father is classified with the father's brothers and the mother's sisters' husbands, the latter of which are fairly remote relatives, whereas the mother's brother is given an entirely different term, unique and unclassified. Yet, the avunculate does not exist here, though there are certain forms of interaction that are reminiscent of the avunculate, which in the light of our question concerning a transition in kinship system, may be 'survivials' from a full blown system."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

[539]

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
They have given us a paper.
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eil
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

527 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing